

2014

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Recommended Citation

Salisbury, Preston R. (2014) "Analysis of Primers in the de Grummond Children's Literature Collection," *SLIS Connecting*: Vol. 3: Iss. 2, Article 7.

DOI: 10.18785/slis.0302.07

Available at: <http://aquila.usm.edu/slisconnecting/vol3/iss2/7>

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Analysis of Primers in the de Grummond Children's Literature Collection

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Master's Research Project, May 2014
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(Images courtesy of de Grummond Children's
Literature Collection:
<http://lib.usm.edu/degrummond>)

Introduction

For several centuries, one of the key mechanisms by which children of Western Europe and the Americas were taught to read was the primer. Possibly originating in the illuminated books of hours, which were common in the Middle Ages (de Hamel, 1986), but certainly derived from prayer books of one type or another, the advent of the printing press enabled a somewhat-standardized text to serve a variety of purposes. The original primers were basically a combination of prayer book and catechism, many of which also contained basic alphabetical instruction. With the advent of the Reformation, Philip Melancthon published the first primer containing a number of Greek sayings and other secular material. The first Standard English primer was probably that published in 1546, which was in use until 1651. Primers typically contain an ABC and a Catechism and were used for religious and civic education as well as basic instruction in reading. The importance placed on reading by the churches, particularly of the Protestant Reformation, increased the importance of the primer. In Lutheran Sweden, for example, people who were incapable of reading were excluded from confirmation and marriage (Davies, 1974; Johansson, 1981).

Following the primer, other reading material would be introduced. In the early days, this consisted of the horn book (a single page on a paddle, protected by a thin sheet of horn, and used to teach the alphabet), followed by the primer, the psalter, the New Testament, and finally the entire Bible (Monaghan, 2005). As the market developed, collections of stories or moral tales such as Aesop's fables gradually took the place of the Psalter or were used alongside the Psalter; Noah Webster's readers provide an example of this. Webster's readers, officially called *An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking* (and with several subtitles) also emphasized nation over religion. The 1789 edition contained, on the title page, the saying "Begin with the Infant [sic]

in his Cradle: Let the first word he lisps be WASHINGTON" (Webster, 1789, reprinted 1974).

The purpose of education on both sides of the Atlantic was, in the early days, to lead one to a commonly held belief in the Deity, as well as to a shared understanding of civic order and proper community morals. People must be taught to read, ostensibly so that they could think for themselves, but the Puritans in the early days of the New World, as well as countless others in the Old, realized that people would always believe their own opinions, but that their opinions could be conditioned by education. "The children were taken in their earliest years, and drilled and taught to believe what they were to think for themselves when the age of discretion was reached" (Ford, 1897, p. 3).

In British America, the most common tool for such indoctrination was *The New England Primer*, the earliest known edition of which was printed in 1727. Through studying the primer, the child would both learn the letter A and that "In Adam's Fall We Sinned all," as well as the B, accompanied with a picture of the Bible and the verse "Thy Life to Mend/This Book Attend" (Ford, 1897, p. 26).

The child would also make promises in reading to learn his (or her) catechism, as well as reciting the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. Roman numerals were taught, for the stated purpose of enabling the child to find chapters and verses in the Bible. A poem attributed to John Rogers, the Protestant martyr under Queen Mary, and the Shorter Catechism, rounded out the content of the primer. Noah Webster's spelling book had similar goals but with an emphasis on nation rather than religion. Religious content in Webster's book (commonly called the *Blue Back Speller*) amounted to two out of 158 pages, with patriotic and moral content filling the gaps left by the removal of the religious content (Chartier, 2008). Even a catechism

was included, albeit a catechism of the Constitution rather than the Christian religion.

Similar developments also took place in France following the revolution, demonstrating that this shift was not an exclusively American phenomenon, but took place on both sides of the Atlantic at about the same time. A perusal of the McGuffey Primer, originally published in 1836, shows that there is no catechetical material, but the texts assigned for reading continue to provide education in morals and religion, although not as explicitly of one point-of-view as in *The New England Primer* (Chartier, 2008).

Problem Statement

This study examines the primers collected in the de Grummond Children's Literature Collection at the University of Southern Mississippi. "The de Grummond Children's Literature Collection is one of North America's leading research centers in the field of children's literature," with a main focus on American and British literature both historical and contemporary (lib.usm.edu). Specific characteristics of the primers examined in this study include publication year, publisher, and stories and illustrations used in the content. These data provide a general view of the development of the primer both for educative and socio-political purposes over time.

Purpose of the Study

This study serves several purposes. First, it provides information on the primers collected within the deGrummond Children's Literature Collection, including the number of primers in the collection and the publication information of the primers. The study also includes information helpful to researchers seeking connections between education and socio-political movements of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. This study also examines content shared among the primers, and different ways in which similar content is used in different primers.

Research Questions

R1: How many primers are in the collection and what is the oldest primer in the collection?

R2: What is the publication pattern of the primers by century and decade?

R3: What content is shared across the primers?

R4: What entity was responsible for the publication of the primers?

R5: Is there a demonstrable connection between contents and publishing entity?

Definitions

In order to clarify some terms used throughout this study, it is important to note that the term "Anglophone America" is used to refer to the parts of the Americas where English is the primary language, as opposed to the predominantly Spanish and Portuguese speaking nations. While a study of primers and early reading materials in those languages would be worthwhile, it is outside the scope of this present study. Also, while the term "primer" properly refers to the initial book used to teach reading, it is frequently conflated with "readers," which were books of stories to further the education of the pupil after completion of the primer, and "alphabet books," which were to teach simply the alphabet and, perhaps some syllables. While this study attempts to maintain the distinction between these materials, it is possible that some source material conflates them.

Limitations and Delimitations

The data collected in this study are limited to the primers in the de Grummond collection at the University of Southern Mississippi Libraries. The bulk of the data contained in this study were collected from the texts themselves, or from the online public access catalog (OPAC). Occasional secondary sources used to gather information are noted in the text. Reprints of original texts are considered to belong to the date of original printing for the purpose of this study.

As a general rule, this study does not examine different editions of the same primer, with two exceptions. Two editions of the *New England Primer* held in the deGrummond collection were both examined, as they came from different times (one was a facsimile of a 1777 edition, the other dates to either 1849 or 1850). The inclusion of both of these was initially the result of a cataloging error, as both contained the same call number, although they were different texts. Likewise, two editions of *The Royal Primer* are included, as one dates from 1818 and the

other from the 1760s, and there were elements of interest in both.

Assumptions

It is assumed that the collection of primers in the de Grummond collection is representative of the body of primers and early reading materials in general. It is further assumed that the books in the online public access catalog (OPAC) are cataloged accurately so that relevant items are retrieved.

Significance of the Research

This study may serve to increase awareness of the number and variety of primers and first reader materials within the de Grummond collection at the University of Southern Mississippi Libraries. This can aid in collection development decisions. The study can also be useful for the study of the history of children's literature and the history of education.

Literature Review

Christopher de Hamel (1986) theorized on the origin of the primer in his *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. He stated that the term "primer" probably arose from the first hour of the book of hours, *prime* in Latin, which would often have been the first book read by the beginning reader. Spero (2010) also mentions the religious origins of the primer, and mentions the banning of primers in England in the seventeenth century due to their connections with Catholicism, while describing the difficulties the printers of *The New England Primer* faced in re-working royalist imagery in the time period surrounding the revolution (pp. 67-72). The development of primers vis-à-vis religious and philosophical thought is further detailed by Schnorbus (2010), who describes the changes in *The New England Primer* from the promotion of a Calvinist worldview to a more Lockean view, while also highlighting the role played by differing views of the nature of the child (and differing educational philosophies) in the development of American primers.

Chartier (2008) provides an excellent summary of the history of the teaching of reading, illustrating the role that primers played in the social and religious education in Medieval and early Renaissance periods, as well as the development of the modern primer in

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which placed a greater focus on civic and national duty rather than religious duties. While Chartier primarily mentions the American nature of this development, illustrated primarily by Noah Webster's speller, she also mentions the development of secular primers in the time of the French Revolution. She also highlights the change in reading methods caused by a fear of "harmful consequences of oral memory" that helped to change reading from a more collective activity to a more individual one (p. 21).

Green and Cormack (2008) discuss the usage of literacy education in furthering the cause of Empire, primarily from an Australian perspective. Although their article does not deal directly with the topic of primers, it still provides insight into the uses of literacy and language to further political/civic ends. Menon and Hiebert (2005) provide modern examples of how texts are used in the classroom to teach reading/literacy. Patterson, Cormack, and Green (2013) describe the historical development of reading instruction via the primer from 813 to the present, focusing on the usage of primers and reading to inculcate moral and civic values.

M. F. Thwaite's *From Primer to Pleasure* provides an excellent overview of the history of the development of children's publications from the invention of moveable type until the author's own day (the monograph was published in 1963). William Davies' *Teaching Reading in Early England* (1974) provides a good history of the development of horn books, primers, and catechisms.

E. Jennifer Monaghan's *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (2005) provides detailed information on the education process and the materials used to further the teaching of reading and writing. Several sections on books read by children provide important background information on texts, as well as provide content information on texts which, while not part of this study, nevertheless exercised a great deal of influence on the development of primers, spellers, and other educational materials used in Anglophone America. Sarah J. Heidelberg's (2013) analysis of African-American poetry holdings in the DeGrummond collection provided some basis for the methodology of this study (particularly in the area of search

strategies), as well as including valuable information on the DeGrummond collection.

Gerald Strauss writes in *Luther's House of Learning* (1978) of the methods of indoctrination of the young in the German Reformation. The Reformation assisted the explosion in literacy by utilizing the printing press (which had already existed for quite some time), and the new translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular to both encourage people to read and to encourage them to join what was both a social and a religious movement. In Saxony in 1580, for example, the standard book for elementary instruction was an ABC book with Luther's catechism, which would have been equivalent to the English primers.

Margaret Spufford (1979) describes the process of learning to read and write in "First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers." This article indicates that while even poor children at that time would have opportunities to learn to read and write, although the means by which such children were taught varied greatly from child to child. The absence of mention of primers in the accounts seems to indicate that some of the children involved learned directly from the Bible as the only book available, and it would be possible to construe that this atypical education played a role in their future as religious dissenters, as they escaped the indoctrination prevalent in the official primer.

Natalie Zemon Davis' (1981) article, "Printing and the People: Early Modern France," describes the spread of books in fifteenth and sixteenth century France. This is of interest because of the social and religious differences between France and the Protestant societies of England, Germany, and North America. Indoctrination in the printed material still existed, but took on different forms, and a child might learn to read from the only book possessed by his or her family: a book of hours. These books of hours were typically Catholic, while Protestant Bibles also spread throughout France (and, although the author does not mention it, a French translation made by the Catholic Church was also made beginning in the late sixteenth century.)

Methodology

A search of the University Libraries' OPAC was conducted for the term "primer" and the results were limited to print material held within the de Grummond Collection. This returned 218 results; however, some of the results, such as *A Primer about the Flag* were not germane to this study. The results were further limited by language (English) and by date of publication (before 1950, as the nature of the study allows for such a limitation). This result list was sorted manually to extract only those books which fit the parameters of this study.

Collection of data from the resulting texts was conducted by using the table of contents (where available) or by direct perusal of the item. Data collected for the study included publication year, title, publisher, and notes related to content and illustrations. These data were entered into an Excel spreadsheet, and analyzed by sorting the data by date to determine the answer to questions about date, by publisher or creator to determine the answer to questions about bias in publication, and sorting by contents to determine similarities in contents across volumes. The OPAC and publication information were sufficient to answer R1, R2, and R4; the table of contents of each primer, or a list of contents compiled by perusing the primers, were sufficient for answering R3. Data gathered in answering R3 and R4 were analyzed (along with secondary sources when needed) to provide an answer to R5.

It is necessary to note that the tables of contents, where available, were sometimes inaccurate or misleading. For example, all types of contents (stories as reading exercises and syllable exercises for classroom use) might be listed together without any differentiation. Also, very few of the primers had a table of contents. Notes about germane content were collected and are included in relevant parts of the study.

Results

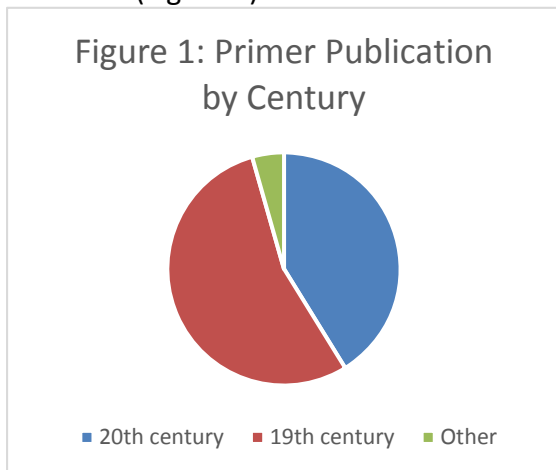
R1: How many primers are in the collection and what is the oldest primer in the collection?

The search with adjusted parameters returned 68 distinct primers. Many primers had multiple editions within the collection. Two multiple editions were

examined, but two of the 68 found in the search were not located within the collection, likely the result of their being mis-shelved. Thus, the total number of primers examined in this study is 68, with two editions of two primers being examined. The oldest primer was a facsimile of that published by order of King Henry VIII in 1546, which was re-printed in 1710 according to the OPAC.

R2: What is the publication pattern of the primers by century and decade?

The vast majority of the primers in the collection were published and printed in the 19th and 20th centuries (Figure 1).



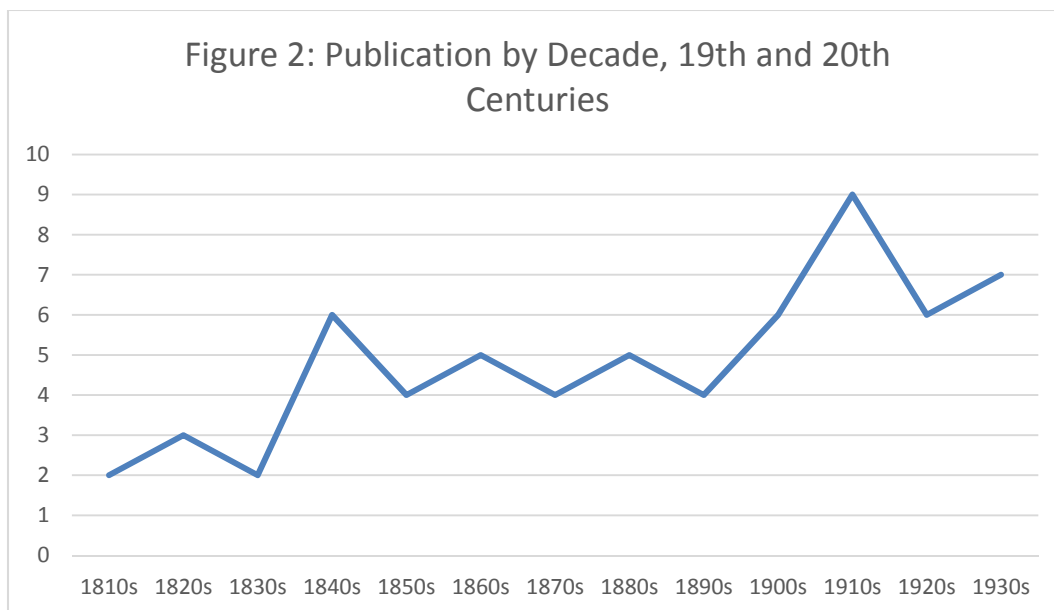
Only three primers in the collection were published or printed outside of these centuries: King Henry VIII's *Primer* mentioned above, *The Royal Primer* (1760), and *The New England Primer* (1777).

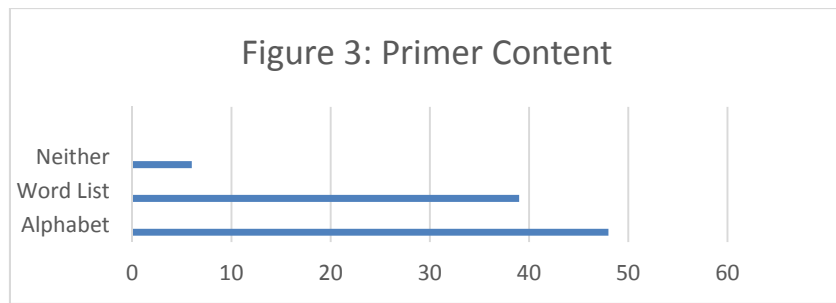
Publication by decade peaks in the 1910s with nine primers published during that decade as depicted in Figure 2 below. Prior to this decade, the most primers published in a single decade was six in the 1840s and the 1900s.

R3: What content is shared across the primers?

The vast majority of the primers shared basic content, such as alphabets (sometimes a single primer would have multiple alphabets, one with illustrations and one simply a list), word lists, and basic reading exercises. While 39 had at least one word list, 48 of 68 primers had at least one alphabet. Six primers had neither an alphabet nor a word list (see Figure 3 on following page).

Regarding the stories used for reading exercises, there was not a great deal of similarity, with the exception of common folklore or nursery tales. In order to really analyze the content of the primers, it would be necessary to analyze a more complete collection, or several collections. Also, just because two stories with the same title were in two different primers, does not mean that the stories are the same. The story of Humpty Dumpty, for example, appeared in several primers. But when it appeared in the *Natural Method Readers Primer* (McManus and Haaren, 1914), the nature of the fall was entirely different. His fall was great, but in the sense of enjoyable rather than terrible, and he does not break apart.





R4: What entity was responsible for the publication of the primers?

Of the 68 primers surveyed, there are 54 different publishing entities. Some of the publishing companies may have changed names over time, so there may be more commonality than this figure suggests. However, as one publisher might not choose to publish competing primers, it also makes sense that there would be a large number of publishers. Publishing entities with multiple primers in the study were Allyn and Bacon (both Winky primers), the American Book Company (similar material in both, primer probably renamed between editions), Bobbs-Merrill, D. Lothrop and Company, Houghton Mifflin, McLoughlin Brothers, the Worthington Company (or R. Worthington Company), Rand McNally, and Scott, Foresman, and Company.

Some primers also shared creators, either authors or illustrators. However, the majority of the older primers did not include data on the creators. One case of interest was the comparison between *The Winston Readers Primer* and *The Reading-Literature Primer*, which, despite being published by different entities, shared both a great deal of content and the same illustrator, Frederick Richardson. However, despite these similarities, the illustrations themselves were different although stylistically similar.

R5: Is there a demonstrable connection between contents and publishing entity?

While there was similar content across primers, there were not sufficient primers published by the same entities to measure similarities by publisher. Publishers that did publish multiple primers often did not have similarities between the primers, probably because they were published for different audiences. For example, Rand McNally published the Sisters of Mercy’s *Misericordia Readers*, which was designed for use in Catholic schools and shared practically no

content with other primers published by Rand McNally.

In certain areas, the publisher or creative entity clearly influenced the content of the primer. One example of this is the aforementioned *Misericordia Readers*, but there were several other primers that provided clear examples of how the publisher or creative entity influenced the contents of the primer. Explicitly religious publishers and creators (such as the tract societies) published primers with the most religious content, with one exception. King Henry VIII’s *Primer* contained exclusively religious content, with none of the “typical” material contained in primers from subsequent centuries, such as alphabets and short stories. Instead, it contained exclusively prayers and Church services. Interestingly, primers towards the end of the study had abandoned rote instruction such as the alphabet, and consisted exclusively of stories which might or might not have a moral.

Patriotic or nationalistic elements were common in many of the primers, notably those published in the United Kingdom, which tended to contain some mention of the ruling monarch. Primers published in Anglophone America did not universally contain such content; while some contained information on George Washington or the flag, most did not contain obviously nationalistic content. Much of the content regarding George Washington involved holding him up as an example for his morality because of his position as a nationalistic figure rather than encouraging the student to feel nationalistic fervor because of Washington. Political element did occur in some of the primers, even if it was something as simple as placing a Union flag in the hand of Lady Liberty in a primer published at the end of the Civil War (Sanders, 1871), but this was still not common. Patriotic elements in American primers tended to

increase with time; primers published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were more likely to have such elements than those published earlier.

Discussion

Outcome and Implication

The number of primers in the collection was a bit smaller than expected. Given the ubiquity of the primer in pedagogy for over two centuries, and the number of printers and publishers that churned out editions of the primer, it would be expected for an extensive collection of children's literature to have a greater number of primers. There were literally hundreds of American primers published between 1711 and 1943, not counting those published in Canada or Britain (Kesaris, 1990). The age of the primers in the collection was in line with expectations; the oldest was a re-print of a 16th century primer, and the majority of the primers in the collection dated to the 19th century.

Publication of the primers in the collection peaked in the 1910s, with nine primers published that decade in the collection. There are 103 primers listed as published that decade in the guide (Kesaris, 1990). While some of these are re-prints, it would seem that the de Grummond collection holds around ten percent of those titles. While this is a representative collection, it is far from an exhaustive one.

While a more comprehensive collection would be better suited for a content analysis of the primers, the books from the de Grummond Collection examined in this study do provide an historical overview of the primer from its beginnings as a book of religious instruction by the Church of England (*The Primer*, 1547, reprinted ca. 1710) to its eventual replacement by the short readers that came after it, such as *Dick and Jane*. At a glance, it may seem that the purpose of the primer changed vastly during this time, and there certainly were large shifts in content, and even in target audience. The primer published by order of King Henry VIII contained no illustration, was exclusively religious in content, and was targeted to all; primers by the early 20th century contained copious illustrations (often in color) along with simple stories for those just beginning to read, and copious illustrations, a substantial thread of similarity ran through the genre. Still, whenever they were

published, and whatever entity published them, the purpose was clear: the primer existed to aid in the formation of what the creator and publisher considered as good human beings, as useful citizens of the nation. This was true in the time of Henry VIII, and this was true in the time of *Dick and Jane*. Just as the newly established Anglican Church of Henry VIII needed to ensure that the people could pray in their own language, so too did *Dick and Jane* provide moral grounding for the generation of children that learned to read using them as a model (Kismaric and Heiferman, 1996).

In between, other primers included content based on what they considered to be best for the development of the child into a productive member of society. This vision varied from time to time, but it certainly influenced the content of the primers. The primers of the de Grummond collection certainly reinforce the notion of the primer as an early guidebook for right living, although the exact instructional material varies.

Examples of Pedagogy within the Primers

Movements of one type or another certainly played a role in the contents of the primers. *The Southern Primer*, which was originally published in South Carolina in 1839, contains a short story, "The Cotton Field" (Figure 4) which describes the scene in the field and takes care to mention the "nice huts" of the field hands. The field hands may be enslaved, but care is taken to minimize their conditions in the process of raising a productive member of antebellum society.

Figure 4: *The Southern Primer* (1839), p. 27



Let us take a walk this fine day. We will go and see the field hands pick the snow white bolls. Hark! hear their songs from all parts of the wide field, as they pick, pick, pick, and fill their sacks with the soft down. See! there are the huts where they all live. One, two, three, four five, six. Six nice huts

Other efforts to encourage the child to be a good member of society do not concern as controversial of topics, but still seem rather ham-handed. *The Victoria Primer* (Figure 5), published in England in about 1840, contained this reading exercise designed to warn the child away from sin. An almost identical reading exercise was contained in *McGuffey's Eclectic Primer* in a longer form. Children might also learn of the evils of drunkenness, as in the page from *Bannan's New Columbian Primer*, published about 1848 (Figure 6). *Bannan's* in particular had oddly specific instances of misbehavior; in one case, James the naughty boy was punished, "like all disobedient children...for breaking the looking glass with his ball (*Bannan's New Columbian Primer*, 1848, p. 16). Many more examples of the use of reading exercises either to enforce desired behavior or condemn undesired behavior were found throughout the primers.

Figure 5. *The Victoria Primer* (1840), p. 13

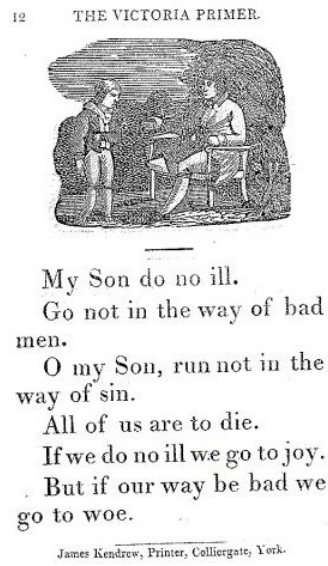
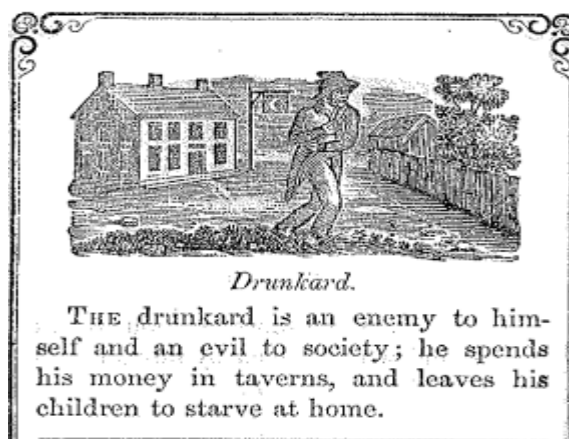


Figure 6: *Bannan's New Columbian Primer* (1848), p. 13



By the time most of the primers in the de Grummond collection were published, one of the main purposes of the primer was teaching children to read. This necessitated teaching the alphabet. Several primers in the collection contained multiple alphabets. Uppercase and lowercase alphabets were included as a rule, and italic alphabets were also frequently included. But there was some difference in just what was included within the alphabet. Six of the primers included the ampersand within the alphabet. One example of this, *Baby's Primer*, also follows the storyline of the children teaching the letters and numbers to their animals (Figure 7).

Figure 7: *Baby's Primer* (1885)



The primers also contained obvious signs of use. Many of the primers with black-and-white illustrations had been colored by the users. Others were written-in. Children would sometimes celebrate having completed their studies by writing (or having an adult write, possibly) their name in the book, such as this picture from the edition of *The Royal Primer* printed in the 1760s (Figure 8). Anne (or her teachers or parents) were sufficiently pleased with her learning her book that they wrote it in the book multiple times.

Figure 8: *The Royal Primer* (1760s)



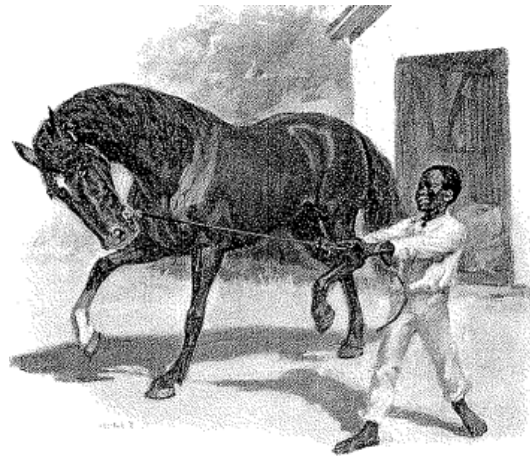
Stereotypes in the Primers

The majority of characters and examples in the primers are male, even in primers, which were directed more towards a female audience.

Interestingly, gender roles are not always clearly defined. Male children dance, play instruments, and help around the house, things which might be considered by some as predominately female roles. There are not many examples of females in predominantly male roles, but they do exist. In *Maja's Lesson Book*, published in London in 1851, the illustration for the letter G is "Georgiana, shooting an arrow." In the same book, though, girls also learn to cook and are seen gathering flowers. Still, this might illustrate that gender roles were not necessarily strict, even in the Victorian period. Of course, it might be expected that girls growing up in a nation with a female head of state might expect to take a more active role in traditionally masculine activities.

The characters in illustrations are almost entirely white. Where they are not white, they tend to be a racial stereotype, either of Native Americans (in the case of the many stories of Hiawatha or stories of "Eskimos"). There was one notable exception. *The Holton Primer*, published in 1901 by Rand McNally, contained an illustration in a story about a horse that included a black boy holding the horse (Figure 9). There was no corresponding mention of a boy in the story. However, it is probable that the illustrations in this primer were pulled from a variety of already existing sources, and the black boy in the illustration is a stable hand. Ascertaining the provenance of the illustration would enable the researcher to accurately determine whether this is a reinforcement of racial stereotypes or a departure from the stereotypes.

Figure 9: Illustration, *The Holman Primer* (1901)



Directions for Future Research

This study examined the primers in the de Grummond collection by looking at one edition of each primer within its holdings. Understanding of the holdings of the collection could be furthered by a study examining every edition of every primer within the collection, which would provide an opportunity to examine the differences between editions of a single primer. Similar studies could be conducted at other collections of primers in addition to the de Grummond collection.

This study could be improved by using a list of all primers published in America to locate materials in the OPAC, as searching for each individual title is more likely to generate results than conducting a general search. This would give a better idea of how representative the de Grummond collection is, while also evaluating the OPAC in searching the collection.

A detailed study covering the entire history of the primer, from the early days until the replacement of the primer with other methods of reading pedagogy would be a benefit to the field. This would involve studying a wide variety of collections beyond the de Grummond collection. A study such as this could provide more insight on topics such as stereotyping, pedagogical methods, and cultural implications.

Conclusion

The de Grummond Children's Literature Collection contains at least 68 distinct primers, which provide valuable insight into the pedagogical practices and values of the past, as well as different ways common

stories were used and told. While the collection is not comprehensive, it is substantial enough to provide a picture to researchers of just what the primer was and how it was used.

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Appendix: Primers Analyzed in the Study

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Anonymous. (c. 1800). *Katy's Primer*. Philadelphia: Davis, Porter, and Company.

Anonymous. (1813). *The American Primer*. Philadelphia: Matthew Carey.

Anonymous. (1828). *M'Carty's American Primer*. Philadelphia: McCarty and Davis.

Anonymous. (1836). *Child's First Lessons, or Infant Primer*. New Haven, CT: S. Babcock.

Anonymous. (c. 1840). *The Victoria Primer*. York, U. K.: James Kendrew.

Anonymous. (1847). *Kelly's New Juvenile Primer*. Philadelphia: W. A. Leary.

Anonymous. (c. 1848). *Bannan's New Columbian Primer*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott and Company.

Anonymous. (1849). *The New England Primer*. Concord, NH: Rufus Merrill.

Anonymous. (1850). *The Illustrated Primer*. New York: George F. Cooledge and Brother.

Anonymous. (c. 1850). *The Tract Primer*. New York: American Tract Society.

Anonymous. (1851). *Maja's Lesson Book*. London: Cundall and Abbey.

Anonymous. (1860a). *Little Linen Primer*. New York: McLoughlin Brothers.

Anonymous. (1860b). *The Southern Primer*. Richmond, VA: Adolphus Morris.

Anonymous. (c. 1860). *American One-Cent Primer*. New York: Kiggins Tooker and Company.

Anonymous. (1877). *Our Pet's Primer*. Boston: D. Lothrop and Company.

Anonymous. (1878). *One Syllable primer*. New York: McLoughlin Brothers.

Anonymous. (1880). *A Christmas Box*. New York: R. Worthington Company.

Anonymous. (1885a). *Baby's Primer*. Boston: D. Lothrop and Company.

Anonymous. (1885b). *The Everlasting ABC and Primer*. Cincinnati, OH: Peter G. Thomson.

Anonymous. (c. 1899). *Little Prattler's Picture Primer*. London: George Routledge and Sons.

Anonymous. (n.d.). *The Mother's Primer*. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates.

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